

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-15 ACDA-10 SSM-05 SAJ-01 ORM-02 DHA-02 /112 W

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R 081452Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0000

INFO AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL PORT SAID

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN NY

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

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DEPT PASS ALL ARAB CAPITALS

EO 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR, EG, XF

SUBJ: FORNMINISTER SUMMARIZES "PEACE OFFENSIVE"

SUMMARY: DEPPRIMIN/FONMIN FAHMY'S EXPOSITION OF EGYPTIAN
"PEACE OFFENSIVE" TO PRESS INCLUDES TWO NEW POINTS: (A)
MEPC CO CHAIRMAN (USG AND USSR), EITHER JOINTLY OR SEPARATELY,
SHOULD PRESENT CONFERENCE WITH DETAILED, COMPREHENSIVE
PEACE PLAN (B) IF MEPC FAILS, ARABS WILL ASK UNSC REMAIN IN
SESSION, WITH ALL PARTIES CONCERNED IN ATTENDANCE, UNTIL
FINAL PEACE OBTAINED. FAHMY'S OTHER POINTS ARE WELL KNOWN;
PLO MUST ATTEND MEPC; ISRAEL IS STALLING; ISRAEL CANNOT LIVE
AT PEACE WITH NEIGHBORS UNTIL GOI DISCARDS AGGRESSION;
ISRAEL'S SECURE BORDER THEORY IS INVALID; FINAL SETTLEMENT
SHOULD INVOLVE CONVENTIONAL ARMS LIMITATION, NUCLEAR BAN
AND REGULATION JEWISH IMMIGRATION; POLITICAL GUARANTEES
BY EUROPE AND BIG POWERS ARE WELCOME. END SUMMARY

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1. DURING MEETING WITH STAFFDEL BRYEN/KRAFT DEC 5, DEPPRI-
MIN/FONMIN FAHMY RECOMMENDED TO US HIS INTERVIEW IN OCT 5

EDITION WEEKLY EGYPTIAN MAGAZINE "OCTOBER". INTERVIEW, HE STRESSED, OFFERED MOST UP-TO-DATE SUMMARY OF CURRENT EGYPTIAN "PEACE OFFENSIVE."

2. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF OCTOBER INTERVIEW. FIRST TWO POINTS HAVENOT PREVIOUSLY BEEN IN PUBLIC DOMAIN.

A. GENEVA. MEPC CO-CHAIRMAN, USG AND USSR, SHOULD NOT MERELY EXTEND OFFICIAL INVITATION TO CONVENE CONF BUT MUST ALSO PRESENT "THEIR VISUALIZATION", IN DETAIL, OF A COMPREHENSIVE ME PEACE PLAN, THIS VISUALIZATION COULD BE PRESENTED EITHER IN A "JOINT INITIATIVE" OR IN TWO SEPARATE INITIATIVES. WHETHER NEGOTIATIONS OCCUR WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF GENEVA OR UNSC (SEE BELOW) IMPORTANT THING IS THAT BOTH SUPERPOWERS "PLACE ALL THE CARDS ON THE NEGOTIATING TABLE." AFTER 28 YEARS OF CONTINUOUS WAR, IT IS NOT SUFFICIENT THAT US AND USSR POLICIES REMAIN LIMITED TO GENERALITIES WHICH DO NOT REVEAL THEIR VISUALIZATION OF SETTLEMENT. THEY BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORLD PEACE.

B. IF GENEVA FAILS. IF, FOR WHATEVER REASON, MEPC REACHES IMPASSE, "I AM OF THE OPINION THAT EGYPT AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES WILL HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO GO TO UNSC"... SUCH AN INITIATIVE WOULD NOT MEAN WE WOULD OBTAIN NEW RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF ARAB RIGHTS, BUT THAT UNSC WOULD EXERCISE ITS PREROGATIVES, WHICH ARE CLEARLY SPELLED OUT IN UN CHARTER, SINCE IT IS AGENCY RESPONSIBLE FOR WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY. EGYPT WOULD NOT ASK UNSC FOR RESOLUTIONS BUT TO CONTINUE IN SESSION UNTIL COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION IS REACHED. EGYPT WOULD ASK FULL MEMBERSHIP OF UNSC, AS WELL AS PARTIES CONCERNED, INCLUDING PLO, TO CONVERT ITSELF INTO MACHINERY FOR NEGOTIATION. THUS, "WE CAN OVERCOME OBSTACLES WHICH ISRAEL SEEKS PLACE IN WAY OF PLO PARTICIPATION", SINCE UNSC HAS SEVERAL TIMES DISCUSSED ME CRISIS IN PRESENCE OF PLO "WHICH STOOD ON EQUAL FOOTING AND ON SAME LEVEL AS MEMBER STATES."

C. PLO AT GENEVA. ISRAELI OBJECTION TO PLO AND MEPC IS SOPHISTIC AND INTENDED HINDER CONVENING OF GENEVA. "ISRAEL UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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IS AFRAID OF PEACE." PLO HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY INVITED IN PAST TO UNSC, YET ISRAEL AND SOME OTHER COUNTRIES OBJECT TO PLO PARTICIPATION IN MEPC WHICH ITSELF WAS FORMED ACCORDING TO A UNSC RESOLUTION.

D. ISRAELI REACTION TO PEACE OFFENSIVE. "NATURALLY I EXPECT ISRAEL WILL EITHER REJECT THESE INITIATIVES OR CLAIM IT WILL NOT ACCEPT SOLUTION IMPOSED BY THE BIG POWERS. IN FACT, I DO NOT RPT NOT CONSIDER THESE AS INVOLVING IMPOSITION OF A SOLUTION." SUPERPOWERS HAVE PERMANENT RESPONSIBILITIES,

ESPECIALLY IN THE AGE OF DETENTE WHICH HAS RESULTED FROM
HELSINKI CONFERENCE. AS WE HAVE HEARD, RABIN WELCOMED
"METHOD" OF HELSINKI, WHICH MEANS THAT HE ACCEPTS NOTION
THAT THE CONF AND THE NEGOTIATING METHOD USED THERE WERE
"IMPOSED" FROM ABOVE.

RE PLO, ISRAEL CANNOT MAKE VALID CLAIM IT HAS NO DEALINGS WITH
PLO OR THE PALESTINIANS, OR THAT PALESTINIANS LIVE PEACEFULLY
UNDER OCCUPATION, COOPERATING WITH THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES.
REAL STATE OF AFFAIRS IS TOTALLY DIFFERENT. "HOW CAN WORLD
PUBLIC OPINION ACCEPT OCCUPATION BY FORCE AS NATURAL THING?"
REASON SHOWS COEXISTENCE WITH PALESTINIANS UNDER JUST PEACE
IS BETTER THAN DEALINGS BASED ON PRESSURE, TERRORISM AND
OCCUPATION.

DESPITE THIS LOGIC AND DESPITE FACT THAT UNIQUE CHANCE
EXISTS NOW FOR PEACE, "I EXPECT MANY EXCUSES BY ISRAEL TO
JUSTIFY ITS UNPREPAREDNESS TO ACCEPT CHALLENGES FOR PEACE."
WE SHALL HEAR THAT RABIN IS WEAK, HIS GOVT HAS NO MAJORITY,
OR ISRAELI ELECTIONS ARE COMING UP BY END OF 1977. ELECTIONS
MAY EVEN BE ADVANCED TO MIDDLE OF 1977.

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED ARAB CAPITALS.

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DEPT PASS ALL ARAB CAPITALS

E. ISOLATION OF ISRAEL. ISRAEL WAS RECOGNIZED BY MAJOR POWERS AND ABOUT 80 OTHER STATES, BUT AREA WARS DO NOT CEASE. DUE TO "BEHAVIOR OF ITS LEADERS," ISRAEL IS COMPLETELY ISOLATED FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND HAS GAINED NO ACCEPTANCE IN THE AREA. OUTSIDE RECOGNITION IS OF NO VALUE TO ISREAL; ISRAELIS MUST BE ACCEPTED BY THEIR NEIGHBORS. SUCH ACCEPTANCE AND RESULTANT PEACE AWAIT ISRAELI DECISION DISCARD AGGRESSION AND CEASE DENYING PALESTINIAN PEOPLE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENT HOME. THEN ISRAEL CAN BE ME COUNTRY. CONTINUED INTRANS-IGENCE MEANS ARMED CLASH EVERY FEW YEARS AND ISRAEL WILL BE UNABLE WIN OVERWHELMING MILITARY VICTORY. ISRELI LEADERS MUST GIVE UP THEIR DREAMS OF EXPANSION AND LEARN TO COEXIST PEACEFULLY WITH THE PALESTINIANS, EITHER IN ONE SECULAR STATE OR TWO INDEPENDENT STATES.

F. SECURE BORDER THEORY. HISTORICALLY AND POLITICALLY, IT IS ARAB SECURITY, NOT ISRAELI SECURITY, THAT IS THREATENED. DAYAN'S LATEST BOOK IS BEST SOURCE FOR "BIGGEST UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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AGGRESSIVE CONSPIRACY SINCE WW II." ISRAEL USES SECURE BORDER ISSUE AS PRETEXT JUSTIFY EXPANSION, EGYPTIAN ABILITY CROSS CANAL WATER BARRIER AND BAR LEV LINE PROVES THIS FALLACY. NOTION OF SFM, THOUGHT UP BY SADAT AND WELCOMED BY ISREAL, SHOWS COLLAPSE OF ISRAELI MILITARY THEORY OF SECURING BORDERS. SINCE SFM IS SATISFACTORY TO ISRAEL, GOI SECURE BORDERS EXCUSE IS TRANSPARENTLY WEAK.

G. CONVENTIONAL ARMS LIMITATION. ISRAEL IS ARMING ITSELF HEAVILY, AND SEEKS ADD ATOMIC ARMAMENT TO ITS ARSENAL. RACE OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS IS BOUND ULTIMATELY TO LEAD TO EXPLOSION, ESPECIALLY IF THERE IS ARMS IMBALANCE. ARAB WORLD, WITH ITS HUGE POTENTIAL, HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO SAFEGUARD ITS SECURITY. ARMS RACE IS EXTREMELY GRAVE AND HAS NO JUSTIFICATION WHEN THERE IS SERIOUS SEARCH FOR FINAL SETTLEMENT. CONVENTIONAL ARMS LIMITATION MUST CONSTITUTE A BASIC ELEMENT IN SETTLEMENT, AND COUNTRIES WHICH ARM ISRAEL MUST GIVE SPECIAL CONSIDERATION TO THIS CONCEPT IN THEIR CALCULATIONS.

H. NUCLEAR BAN. REFUSAL ALLOW SEN RIBICOFF VISIT TO DIMONA CAN ONLY MEAN REACTOR IS USED FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. IT IS NECESSARY WARN THE WORLD AGAINST ISRAEL'S REAL INTENTIONS REGARDING INTRODUCTION NUCLEAR WEAPORY TO ME. "WE ARE UNABLE ADMIT ISRAEL'S GOOD INTENTIONS." THUS, FINAL SETTLEMENT MUST INCLUDE ISRAELI ADHERENCE TO NPT. ARABS CANNOT ALLOW THEIR SECURITY BE THREATENED WITH NUCLEAR WAR. EVERY WEAPON

HAS A COUNTER WEAPON. WE CANNOT BE SATISFIED WITH SIMPLY
WARNING. "COUNTRIES RESPONSIBLE FOR ISREAL MUST BEAR IN MIND
EVERY WORD SAID IN THIS RESPECT."

I. JEWISH EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL. "ISRAEL'Z EXPANSIONIST AIMS
CN BE RESTRICTED THROUGH CONTROL OF THE SO CALLED COLLECTIVE
EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL FROM THE SOURCE." THIS IS SERIOUS ISSUE
REQUIRING PROFOUND STUDY AS IT IS ORGANICALLY CONNECTED
WITH FINAL SETTLEMENT. UNRESTRICTED EMIGRATION INEVITABLY
WILL END WITH EXPLOSION AT EXPENSE TO ARABS.
EMIGRATION IS IMPORTANT ELEMENT TO COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT.

J. GUARANTEES. POLITICAL GUARANTEES ARE INDIVISIBLE FROM
GEOGRAPHICAL GUARANTEES. "UN AND ALL THE BIG COUNTRIES"
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MUST PARTICIPATE IN GUARANTEES ACCORDING TO THEIR RE-
SPONSIBILITIES UNDER UN CHARTER. "EGYPT WELCOMES PARTICPATION
OF EUROPEAN AND BIG POWERS ALIKE..."

K. WHY AN EGYPTIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE? SADAT BELIEVES THERE
IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR PEACE EXCEPT WAR, THERE IS NO SUB-
STITUTE FOR STABILITY AND CONSTRUCTION EXCEPT DESTRUCTION
(I.E., NO WAR NO PEACE STATE OF AFFAIRS WILL INEVITABLY
DEGENERATE INTO WAR)

3. FULL TEXT FAHMY INTERVIEW POUCHED NEA/EGY.
EILTS

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED ARAB CAPITALS.

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Message Attributes

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